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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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ACTION EUR-00

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-10  
PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 05861

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: SHUM, CSCE, UR, SW, OVIP (KAMPELMAN, MAX)  
SUBJECT: KAMPELMAN MISSION ON SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS:  
- TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

REF: (A) STATE 250404, (B) STOCKHOLM 5847

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SWEDEN'S GENERAL APPROACH TO SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS  
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PRACTICE  
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- THE PALME GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH IT REGULARLY CONDEMNS THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, TREADS MORE CAREFULLY WHEN IT COMES TO INTERNAL SOVIET POLICY AND PRACTICE. THE VERY STRONG SWEDISH PREFERENCE, PECULIAR NOT ONLY TO THE PALME GOVERNMENT, IS TO AVOID PUBLIC ACCUSATIONS ABOUT INTERNAL ISSUES UNLESS THEY ARE ALREADY ON THE AGENDA OF A RECOGNIZED MULTILATERAL FORUM, SUCH AS THE UN CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID. SWEDEN REGULARLY RAISES DIVIDED FAMILY CASES WITH THE USSR AND USES CSCE  
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ARGUMENTATION IN ASKING THAT THEY BE RESOLVED, BUT IT DOES

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE	IS/FPC/CDR	140	Date: 10/15/93
(X) RELEASE	(X) DECLASSIFY	MR Cases Only:	
( ) EXCISE	( ) DECLASSIFY	EO Citations	
( ) DENY	( ) DENY	TS Authority	
( ) DELETE Non-Responsive Info		( ) CLASSIFY as	( ) S or ( ) C or ( ) OADR
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SO QUIETLY, AND ONE WILL OFTEN HEAR SWEDISH OFFICIALS SAY THAT QUIET DIPLOMACY, NOT PUBLIC PRESSURE, IS THE ONLY PRACTICAL WAY OF GETTING SOLUTIONS.

- GIVEN SWEDEN'S NEUTRALITY, AND PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE STRAIN THE SUBMARINE ISSUE HAS IMPOSED ON SWEDISH-SOVIET RELATIONS, IT WOULD BE INADVISABLE TO SUGGEST "COMBINED ACTION" WITH REGARD TO SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, AREAS IN WHICH WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE SWEDS TO WORK IN PARALLEL WITH US, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE BY SHARING INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. IN ADDITION TO SAKHAROV, WHOM WE ASSUME AMB. KAMPELMAN WILL RAISE, TWO SUCH AREAS ARE THE WALLENBERG CASE AND THE SITUATION IN THE BALTIC STATES. BOTH, FOR DIFFERENT REASONS, ARE TENDER SUBJECTS FOR SWEDEN.

3. THE WALLENBERG CASE  
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- SWEDEN IS SENSITIVE TO THE CHARGE, MADE MOST RECENTLY HERE IN STOCKHOLM BY VISITING CONGRESSMAN HENRY WAXMAN, THAT IT IS NOT PUSHING THE SOVIETS HARD ENOUGH FOR ANSWERS TO THE MANY QUESTIONS SURROUNDING RAOUL WALLENBERG'S FATE. THE U.S. HAS A DIRECT INTEREST IN THE ISSUE, GIVEN THE CONGRESSIONAL GRANT OF CITIZENSHIP TO WALLENBERG. WHILE SWEDISH OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO RAISE WALLENBERG REGULARLY IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH SOVIETS, THEY HAVE SHIED AWAY FROM MAKING HIM A PUBLIC ISSUE AND SEEM TO HAVE FALLEN INTO THE POSITION THAT THE BURDEN IS ON SWEDEN TO DISPROVE THE SOVIET LINE THAT WALLENBERG DIED IN 1947. NOTHING IS TO BE GAINED FROM MAKING WALLENBERG'S  
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FATE A DIVISIVE ISSUE IN U.S.-SWEDISH RELATIONS, BUT AMB. KAMPELMAN MIGHT SUGGEST THAT SWEDISH OFFICIALS MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE BURDEN FOR ACCOUNTING HONESTLY AND FULLY FOR WALLENBERG'S FATE RESTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, NOT WITH SWEDEN OR THE U.S.

4. THE BALTIC STATES  
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- HISTORICAL TIES, GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY AND A LARGE

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(ABOUT 36,000) COMMUNITY OF RESIDENTS WITH BALTIC ORIGINS GIVE SWEDEN UNIQUE INSIGHTS INTO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE BALTIC STATES. THERE IS ALSO A FAIRLY STEADY STREAM OF DEFECTORS, EITHER DIRECTLY ACROSS THE BALTIC OR THROUGH FINLAND. THE MOST RECENT, A FORMER ESTONIAN JUSTICE MINISTRY OFFICIAL AND HIS WIFE, CAUTIOUSLY CONFIRMED TO THE PRESS THAT THE SITUATION IN THEIR HOMELAND IS "POISONOUS" AND GETTING WORSE.

- THEIR CONSCIENCE PRICKED BY MEMORIES OF THE FORCED REPATRIATION OF BALTS IN 1946, SWEDISH OFFICIALS DO ON OCCASION CONDEMN SOVIET REPRESSION THERE, BUT USUALLY ONLY AFTER EXTENSIVE PRODDING BY MEMBERS OF SWEDEN'S BALTIC COMMUNITY. AMB. KAMPELMAN MIGHT POINT OUT THAT MANY LOOK TO SWEDEN, GIVEN ITS POSITION AND HISTORICAL TIES, TO SPEAK OUT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS JUST ACROSS THE BALTIC -- WHICH IS A POLITE WAY OF SAYING THAT SWEDEN HAS A STRONGER OBLIGATION TO ADDRESS DEVELOPMENTS THERE THAN, SAY, IN CENTRAL AMERICA OR THE CARIBBEAN. PALME HIMSELF HAS BALTIC FAMILY TIES AND SPENT SUMMERS AS A CHILD IN THEN-INDEPENDENT LATVIA. THE SUBJECT OF THE BALTIC STATES IS TOPICAL. A HIGH-LEVEL EXPRESSION OF SWEDISH WILLINGNESS TO SHARE INSIGHTS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BALTIC STATES WOULD BE TIMELY.

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